

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----017143 081836Z /41
O 081635Z SEP 77
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2302
INFO AMCONSUL ZAGREB IMMEDIATE POUCH

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 6045

EXDIS

FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER FROM EAGLEBURGER

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP YO
SUBJ: KARDELJ VISIT

REF: (A) STATE 213938 (B) BELGRADE 5443 (C) STATE 210167

1. FOLLOWING MY MEETING WITH HIM THIS MORNING, I WANTED TO GIVE YOU MY PERSONAL THINKING ON KARDELJ'S TRIP. VISIT SHOULD BE SEEN IN FOLLOWING CONTEXT: A) IF THE 85 YEAR OLD TITO DROPPED DEAD TOMORROW KARDELJ WOULD BE HIS SUCCESSOR, AND B) AS FIRST IN EXTRAORDINARY NUMBER OF HIGH-LEVEL CONTACTS SCHEDULED FOR NEXT SIX MONTHS WHICH SHOULD BE USED TO PUT IN PLACE STRONG, MULTI-FACETED US-YUGOSLAV RELATIONSHIP WHICH WILL CARRY US SUCCESSFULLY THROUGH A TITO SUCCESSION CRISIS -- INEVITABLE IN NEXT 4-8 YEARS -- A RELATIONSHIP WHICH PRESIDENTS CARTER AND TITO CAN ENDORSE EARLY NEXT YEAR.

2. THE CENTRAL FACT TO KEEP IN MIND IN DECIDING WHAT TREATMENT KARDELJ SHOULD RECEIVE IS THAT HE IS NUMBER TWO MAN IN YUGOSLAVIA. WHILE THE ONLY CONCERN WITH PRESENT ARRANGEMENTS HE EXPRESSED TO ME WAS THAT SCHEDULE NOT BE TOO HEAVY (A CONCERN I ENDORSE), I
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KNOW THAT WHAT ARE MINOR PROTOCOL MATTERS TO US CAN MAKE MAJOR IMPACT ON YUGOSLAVS. THIS IS PARTICULARLY TRUE AS KARDELJ'S TREATMENT IN US INEVITABLY WILL BE SEEN IN CONTEXT OF LAVISH PUBLIC SHOW FOR TITO IN MOSCOW, PYONGYANG AND PEKING. WHILE WE OBVIOUSLY CANNOT TURN OUT VAST CROWDS FOR HIM, WE SHOULD DO WHATEVER WE CAN TO PREVENT OR AT LEAST CONTROL HOSTILE

DEMONSTRATORS. AND I HAVE SPENT TOO MUCH TIME IN WASHINGTON NOT TO KNOW THAT PROTOCOLARY RIGIDITIES CAN BE BENT. REF(A) ARRIVED AFTER OUR MEETING -- IN ANY CASE I WOULD LIKE QUESTION OF BLAIR HOUSE RECONSIDERED. NON-HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT HAVE STAYED THERE. IN ADDITION, FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL PRESIDENT BIJEDIC STAYED THERE IN 1975 AND HE WAS FAR JUNIOR TO KARDELJ IN STATURE. SURELY WE CAN AGREE TO SAYING THAT USG HAS INVITED KARDELJ -- HE IS AFTER ALL NOT AT THE LEVEL OF A FOREIGN MINISTER. AND WHEN OUR NUMBER TWO MAN WAS IN YUGOSLAVIA, HE WAS TREATED BY TITO AS HEAD OF STATE IN TERMS OF HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS AND HOUSING. WHILE VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE MAY WELL HAVE SCHEDULE CONFLICTS WHICH WOULD PREVENT IT, I KNOW THAT KARDELJ WOULD APPRECIATE ANY TIME HE CAN SPARE, FOR EXAMPLE LUNCH AFTER KARDELJ'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT SEPTEMBER 30TH AND ATTENDANCE AT VERY SMALL DINNER PARTY AMBASSADOR BELOVSKI WANTS TO GIVE THAT NIGHT.

3. BUT KEY TO SECCES OF VISIT WILL BE SUBSTANTIVE QUALITY OF KARDELJ'S DISCUSSIONS WITH PRESIDENT, VICE PRESIDENT, SECRETARY, BRZEZINSKI, YOU AND OTHERS. HE MADE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR TO ME THAT HIS ONLY PURPOSE IN COMING IS TO HAVE EXTENSIVE DISCUSSION OF NEW ADMINISTRATION'S POLICIES AND HOW THEY RELATE TO YUGOSLAVIA'S VIEW OF WORLD. HE IS PARTICULARLY KEEN ON
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TALKING ABOUT OUR RELATIONSHIP TO NON-ALIGNED, DEVELOPING NATIONS AND WILL URGE US TO GO EVEN FURTHER IN FINDING "FORMS" FOR COOPERATION. SECOND MAJOR AREA FOR DIALOGUE IS THAT AS MOST INNOVATION-ORIENTED MARXIST IN POWER ANYWHERE IN WORLD, HE WILL WANT TO DISCUSS NATURE OF DEMOCRACY AND HOW TO APPROACH FURTHERING OF HUMAN RIGHTS (ABOUT WHICH WE OBVIOUSLY HAVE DIFFERENCES AS WELL AS SIMILARITIES). I STRONGLY URGE THAT ALL OF THOSE HE WILL BE SEEING BE BRIEFED ON ELEMENTS OF YUGOSLAV APPROACH TO BOTH INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DEMOCRACY SO THAT IT WILL NOT BE DIALOGUE OF THE DEAF.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2303
INFO AMCONSUL ZAGREB IMMEDIATE POUCH

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 6045

EXDIS

FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER FROM EAGLEBURGER

4. BEYOND BIG PICTURE ISSUES, WE SHOULD BE IN POSITION BY TIME OF HIS VISIT TO DISCUSS WHAT IS REQUIRED BEFORE TITO VISIT SO THAT TWO PRESIDENTS CAN ENDORSE NEW BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP -- ONE MORE STABLE AND COOPERATIVE BECAUSE IT IS FIRMLY ANCHORED IN INSTITUTIONALIZED POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY TIES AND THEREFORE WILL ENDURE THROUGH ANY FUTURE CRISIS (AND GIVE U.S. MAXIMUM INFLUENCE AT TIME OF TITO'S PASSING). NEW ADMINISTRATION HAS GOTTEN OFF TO EXCELLENT START HERE AND ATMOSPHERE IS SUBSTANTIALLY IMPROVED. BUT NOW WE MUST GIVE CONCRETE CONTENT TO THIS NEW MOOD. FOR KARDELJ'S VISIT I STRONGLY URGE THAT:

-- AS CONTINUING ANTI-YUGOSLAV TERRORISM IN THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTES BIGGEST SOURCE OF POLITICAL DISTRUST, A PUBLIC STATEMENT BY SECRETARY VANCE AND/OR ATTORNEY GENERAL BELL (A LA THEIR STATEMENT ON CUBAN EMIGRE ACTIVITIES IN THE US) CONDEMNING BOTH THE TERRORIST MEANS AND SEPARATIST GOALS OF CROATIAN AND OTHER EMIGRE GROUPS WOULD BE A MAJOR SECRET

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CONTRIBUTION TO OUR RELATIONSHIP -- ONE WHOSE LONG-TERM SIGNIFICANCE FOR YUGOSLAVS WOULD BE FAR GREATER THAN WE MIGHT REALIZE.

-- WE REACH AGREEMENT ON MILITARY SALES POLICY NOW UNDER CONSIDERATION IN WASHINGTON SO THAT WE CAN DISCUSS WITH KARDELJ.

-- AS NON-PROLIFERATION AND KRSKO ARE MAJOR AREAS

FOR COOPERATION AS WELL AS SERIOUS POTENTIAL
CONFLICT, WE SHOULD DEVOTE SPECIAL ATTENTION
TO THEM IN OUR DISCUSSIONS. SEPTEL WILL HAVE
SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS IN THIS REGARD.

-- ECONOMIC TIES ARE PROBABLY MOST IMPORTANT
MEANS WE HAVE FOR CEMENTING YUGOSLAVIA TO
UNITED STATES IN PREPARATION FOR TITO
TRANSITION PERIOD. WHILE TRADE AND INVESTMENT
IN GENERALLY GOOD SHAPE, WE SHOULD STRESS THAT
WE ARE FAR FROM EXPLOITING AVAILABLE OPPORTUNITIES
AND WOULD LIKE TO SEE SUBSTANTIAL EXPANSION. BASED
ON MY DISCUSSION WITH HIM THIS MORNING AND WITH
BELOVSKI YESTERDAY, KARDELJ DOES NOT PLAN TO GET
INTO BILATERAL ECONOMIC MATTERS AT LENGTH (AS
BELOVSKI WENT OVER SCHEDULE IN DETAIL WITH
KARDELJ SEPT 8, I DID NOT GET INTO AND WILL RELY
ON BELOVSKI TO COMMUNICATE SPECIFIC POINTS TO
LUERS).

6. IN SUM, WHILE YUGOSLAVIA OBVIOUSLY NOT AMONG 4 OR 5
KEY ISSUES NOW BEFORE USG I BELIEVE OUR LONGER-TERM
INTERESTS HERE WARRANT A SUBSTANTIAL EXTRA EFFORT TO GIVE REAL
CONTENT AND STYLE TO KARDELJ VISIT.

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